1: Métraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Rokunga[19], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson."

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu.

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people.

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded.

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes:

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal.
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

[19] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past.

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rongorongo men were arranged in rows, with an alley-way down the center to the Ariki. Some of them had brought with them one tablet only; others as many as four. The old ones read in turn, or sometimes two together, from the places where they stood, but their tablets were not inspected. Te Haha and his comrades stood on the outskirts, and he and one other lad held *maru* in their hands. If a young man failed, he was called up and his errors pointed out; but if an old man did not read well, Nga-ara would beckon to Te Haha, who would go up to the man and take him out by the ear. Our informant repeated this part of the story identically months later, and added that the Ariki would say to the culprit, "Are you not ashamed to be taken out by a child?" the offender's hat was taken away, but the tablet was not inspected.

The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Nga-ara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the *maru* in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the *rongorongo* men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoop and the old men stood before him and prayed; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the *rongorongo* men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

In conformance with his supervisory duties Nga-ara is said to have traveled round the island and to have stayed for some while with the experts in each district. Routledge (194, p. 246) heard of a man of the south coast who was considered to be "too big a man to have a school." He also went about visiting and inspecting schools.

Tradition states that when Nga-ara died his body was carried to the ahu on three tablets, followed by the *rongorongo* men. The tablets were buried with him.

The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island are better understood when compared with those of the Marquesas and of Mangareva. In the Marquesas the *tuhuna o'ono* was "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He was also the teacher of sacred chants and director of chanting at family feasts. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*. In the Marquesas there were tests of the *tuhuna o'ono* by other members of the same profession and contests between *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes (104, p. 229). Any *tuhuna* who was judged in error by a majority of the masters gathered was immediately deprived of his title and could never lay claim to it again.

On Mangareva also there was a class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo* (*taura rongorongo*). They were not priests, properly speaking, but were responsible for the sacred chants for important

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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[194] [192] for a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg which was still kept on tappa was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of [292] human hair; it was known as "hau oho," and if it was not worn the "spirits would be angry."

The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man, who was called an iviatua, but was of an inferior type from the one gifted with prophecy and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking places, as even he might not share that [431] of the Bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The [184] Bird-man's wife came to Raraku but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house nor he hers on pain of death. A few yards below the bird-house is an "ahu" or burial place; it consists [766] merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain with the ground above levelled and paved; it was reserved for the burial of bird-men; corpses in Easter Island were frequently exposed, not buried, but a bird-man was an uncanny person whose ghost might do unpleasant things, he was safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain with its houses, its ahu and its statues. As the Bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house there stretched away in front of him the low rocky coast marked by a [133] white line of surf and ending in the swelling side and precipitous cliff of Rano Kao, the scene of his triumph. Above him, as he sat there, were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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Between these rocks houses have been built of a pattern somewhat different from the others. These were occupied during the great function by the men who recited the tablets. The rocks themselves are covered with a symbol repeated in every size and in every position. It is a figure with the body of a man and the head of a bird. In one or more instances this figure can be traced as holding an egg in its hand. The symbol has been counted 111 times, and many more have obviously weathered away. There is no local tradition; but the inference taken in conjunction with other proofs amounts almost to a certainty that each of these represents the Bird-man of a year.

To return to the newly triumphant victor. Taking the egg in his hand he and his family danced round the coast till they came to Rano Raraku (the Image Mountain). Here the Bird-Man resided in a certain house for twelve months, during five of which he was in a state of strict tabu. The servant also became tabu and was compelled to eat food with his left hand only, the right having touched the sacred egg. The egg itself was suspended in the house of the Bird-Man till the conclusion of the year, when the new victor on his arrival took it out and buried it in a cranny of the mountain. In close proximity to the house of tabu is a roughly made ahu. Here only Bird-Men were allowed to be buried. These men were never exposed, as their corpses were considered uncanny. The bird ceremonies, now no longer held, were continued after the coming of the white men, and even after the custom of living at Orongo had been given up the first egg was still carried 12 miles across the island to the Image Mountain. While there are other possible theories, it seems to be highly probable that the statues on the mountain were the statues of Bird-Men.

The mystery of Easter Island is a puzzle of many pieces. We have, we trust, laid some additional fragments on the table to-night, and we hope in the future to put down all we hold. But others are still lacking to make the pattern clear. A large number of these must be sought outside the island itself. It is essential to know more on the general subject of Polynesian migrations, for it is improbable that either the type of image or the hieroglyphics had their origin on the island, and their earliest history must be discovered. We need to find elsewhere traces of the egg cult ceremony, or of worship of the same bird. In view of the progress yearly being made by ethnological research the general solution of the problem is probably not far distant, but it is tantalizing to realize how all knowledge of the once living detail and weird ceremonial which must have been connected with these gigantic remains is now gone for ever.

We left Easter Island in August 1915 after a total residence of sixteen and a half months. I do not propose to trouble you with the details of our homeward voyage, but you may care to hear something of our next stopping-place, the British Colony of Pitcairn Island. The inhabitants are, as is well known, the descendants of nine mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty* who sought refuge here in 1791 with nine Tahitian women.

2 [See 12: Routledge for detailed description--analyst]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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mother went for a funeral." The men who knew the tablets went also and sang, but there seems to have been little or nothing in the way of rites. The missionaries were impressed with the fact that there was no ceremony of any kind at a burial. 764

Most elaborate spells were, however, performed in connection with a man who had been slain, known as "tangata ika," or fish-man; the corpse was kept from resting either day or night while his neighbours went in pursuit of vengeance. In front of one ahu, on the north coast, some pieces of the old statues have been formed into a rude chair. On this, it was said, had been seated the naked body of a man belonging to the district, Kota-vari-vari by name, who had been killed at Akahanga on the south coast. One man kept the corpse from falling, while two others sat behind and chanted songs to aid the avengers. These watchers were covered with black ashes, wore only feather hats, and carried the small dancing-paddle known as "rapa" (fig. 116); the chief man in charge of the ceremony was known as the "timo." It must have been an eerie scene as dusk came on. The story is told of a murder near Tongariki. In this case the victim's corpse was placed on the ahu and turned over at intervals by the watchers. Hanga Maihiko, a converted image ahu on the south coast, is one of those which have a paved approach, and there are on the pavement two stones—pieces of a hat and a statue—specially used for exposing "fish-men" (fig. 93). If these charms failed to act, there was a still more reliable way. The clothes of the victim were buried beneath the cooking-place of the foe, and when he had partaken of food prepared there he would certainly die the night following. Some of the carved tablets were connected with these rites; one was certainly known as that of the "Ika," while there is said to have been another called "Timo," which was the "list" kept by each ahu of its murdered men. 766 [292] [764]

The custom of exposing the dead was, as has been stated, going on in living memory. The information already given on this head is confirmed by the accounts of the missionaries,[1] but 764

[1] "These bodies, enveloped in mats, are placed on a heap of stones or on a kind of wooden structure, the head being turned towards the sea. Now, as all the population live round the island, dried skeletons are to be met all along this coast, and no one seems to take any notice of them."—Letter from Brother Eyraud—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Jan. 1866.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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The word "poe-poe" is described as meaning a big canoe, such as their ancestors came in to the island. It is applied to two types of ahu, one of which is obviously built to resemble a boat; of this kind there are about twelve in the island. One large one (fig. 94) measured as much as 178 feet in length, the width being 20 feet, while the ends, which are made like the bow and stern of a canoe, are about 12 feet to 15 feet in height. The flat top is paved with sea-boulders, and is surrounded by a row of the same in imitation of the gunwale of a boat. In one such ahu two vaults were found by us just below the surface with perfect burials. One was the body of an old man, the other of a woman with a child. Both had been wrapped in reeds, and with the body of the woman were some glass beads. On the surface of the ahu were a few bones, possibly of a body which had been exposed there, but the ahu had apparently been built for the two interments. It is less obvious why the same name, "ahu poe-poe," should be applied to a burial-place which was wedge-shaped in form. It follows the lines of the image ahu in so far as having a wall towards the sea flanked on the land sides by a slope of masonry. It might be held to represent the prow of a boat, but resembles rather a pier or jetty. Only some six of these were seen, of which the longest was 70 feet. One in a lonely spot, at the very edge of a high cliff, which overlooked Anakena Bay, formed a most striking abode for the dead (fig. 95).

764 [501]

In a few cases the term ahu is given to a pavement, generally by the roadside, neatly made of rounded boulders and edged with a curb; the form was said to be ancient. One of those on the west road was reported as specially dedicated to mata-toa—which signifies victors or warriors—and the same was said of a differently made ahu on the south coast.[1]

Neither exposure nor interment was necessarily confined to ahu, and corpses were frequently disposed of in caverns, as in the case of Ko Tori. Three instances were mentioned, an uncle and two nephews, where the corpses, after being exposed, were lowered with a rope down the crevasses of the cliff of Raraku

766

[1] When all those ahu which can be placed in categories as Image, Semi-Pyramid, Canoe, Wedge-shaped, or Pavement have been noted, there remain, out of the total of two hundred and sixty burial-places, some fourteen which are unique in design; and between sixty and seventy which cannot be classified, either because they are mere cairns or in too ruined a condition to be identified.

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760 in order to evade the enemy. (One of the nephews, who had been of the party when the final statues were overthrown, had met with a tragic end, being drowned by catching his hand in a rock when diving for lobsters under water.) With the exception of those near the standing statues, we practically never found an earth burial. This seems to account for the exaggerated estimates of the number of human remains on the island; it is doubtful if even five hundred skulls could be collected, but, whether in caves or ruined ahu, a large proportion of those which exist are very much in evidence.

764 Memorials of the dead were erected in various places independently of the actual locality where the corpse rested. Some of these were simply mounds of earth, which can be seen on various hills; there is a regular succession on the landward rim of the Raraku crater, opposite to the great cliff, but one at least of these was a memorial to a man whose body had been disposed of in the clefts of the cliff. Others of these independent memorials were in the shape of cairns about 6 feet in height, known as "pipi-hereko," and were formerly surmounted by a white stone. Many of them still exist, and they are particularly numerous on the high ground above Anakena Cove. The locality was chosen as one which was but little inhabited, for the taboo for the dead [784 (or pera) extended to them, and no one went near them in the daylight, on penalty of being stoned, till the period of mourning 688] had been terminated with the usual feast. Various voyagers commented on these cairns, which were marked objects, and Cook thinks that they may have been put up instead of statues.

539 It would seem by the following tale, which imposes a somewhat severe strain on the European imagination, that piles of stones had in the native mind a certain resemblance to the human figure. "There was once an old lady who had an arm so long that it could have reached right across the island. She was a bad old woman, and once a month had a child to eat, so a certain man determined to put an end to her power for doing harm. He took her out in a boat to fish, first telling his small son to collect stones, and after they had gone to put them in piles in front of the house of the woman, and also to make a fire and much smoke. When the canoe had got out to sea, he looked back and found the boy had done as he was told, and glimpses of the cairns could be seen among the clouds of smoke. Then

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The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Ngaara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the maru in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the rongo-rongo men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoep and the old men stood before him and "prayed"; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the rongo-rongo men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

Ngaara used also to travel round the island, staying for a week or two in different localities with the resident experts. Another savant on the south coast was said to be "too big a man to have a school," and also went about visiting and inspecting learned establishments in the same manner.

Ngaara, before the end, fell on evil days. The Ngaure clan was in the ascendancy, and carried off the Miru as slaves; the Ariki was taken to Akahanga on the south coast with his son, Kaimokoi, and grandson, Maurata. They were there five years in captivity, and the "Miru cried much"; at the end of that time the clan united with the Tupahotu and rescued the old man. He was then ill, and died not long afterwards at Tahai, on the west coast, near Hanga Roa, while living with his daughter, who had married a Marama. For six days after his death everyone worked at making the sticks with feathers on the top (heu-heu), and they were put all round the place. He was buried in the ruined image ahu at Tahai, his body being carried on three of the tablets, and followed through a lane of spectators by the rongo-rongo men; the tablets were buried with him. His head paid the penalty of its greatness, and was subsequently stolen; its whereabouts was unknown. Ten or fifteen of his tablets were given to old men; the rest went to a servant, Pito, and